755 787 [776] The stones are also consulted for curing and for prophesying the result. When one of the *sią* is confronted with a question concerning the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu* who sends *duLər*, his messenger, with the answer. *duLər* is very special, however. No one, not even the greatest medicine man, has ever seen him. He confers with the stone and disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some medicine men say that they have heard his presence in the sense that in the dead of night, when waiting for an answer, there is sometimes a sound as that of a small chick.

784 [776] [783] **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see* Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanliness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost importance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes *bukLú* and if it is his bad luck to return ill, then it is very dangerous. The only way to remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all around the house, touching it with a stick, and then to do the same to everything inside. The Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and *kəiək* (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] [841] [843] [783] [752] [825] [779] The first menstrual period is particularly *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is ever free from tabu during this condition. A pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by this evil which requires a medicine man to cure or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the *bukLú* in her compel her to die.

Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

173 926 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn between legend and actual history. Events are reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men of the Cabécares still recount their version of war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150] The following is an Indian account of this event.
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see* Death) are the only persons who can touch
614 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill
262 the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənítsiwa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
● 726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

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173 Cabécares, and only a very few managed to
726 escape. The Terribís cut off heads,[181] cleaned
[727] them, and used them for cups. They cooked the heads and dried them well and then put them in certain houses.

The king of the Cabécares was furious. He gathered together people and went to Terribí where they killed some of their enemies. But still the Cabécares were frightened and many hid. The *usegLa* always remained at a great distance. One day, nevertheless, an *usegLa* was taken captive with other Cabécares and killed. The Terribís cut off ten heads but kept alive
[727] as prisoner a young girl who was niece of the *usegLa*. They tied and carried her, and she cried and cried. All this time the heads made an awful noise, which was more frightening as they still had their teeth. The *usegLa's* head took the lead and told the Terribís that the Cabécares would come and reap vengeance.

After a three days' journey, they reached the dwellings of the Terribís. The skull of the uncle continued to make noise, the teeth chattering horribly. In desperation, the Terribís tied the skull on a rope and hung it in a house. One night, however, the rope broke and the skull slipped out.

The people in the house thought some child had fallen when they heard a noise. They ran to look outside. There, on a barren hill, was a great jaguar who grabbed the Terribís one by one. The beast went from house to house until he had carried everybody away except the girl who remained crying. Then it was that *sibu* interfered and told the jaguar not to kill all the Terribís because he wanted some left. The jaguar had to obey.

In the early morning, the creature returned to the spot and said to the girl, "Don't be afraid even if I am dead and look like a jaguar. I am your uncle and I will take you home. I'll carry you across the rivers and over the mountains, but I'll leave you beside your house. As I am dead, I cannot enter. Just don't be afraid."

[172] [181] Trophy heads are common in Costa Rican archæology.

[648] [182] The Changuinas were allies of the British against the Spanish, the Cabécares on the Pacific side of the range, and the Borucas. Their home territory was along the Changuinola River in northwestern Panama. The British gave them scissors, knives, axes, beads, etc., and sent them across the cordillera to the

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●726 He slept near her and told her that if she saw a large jaguar or a large alligator in a pool, it would be him. Knowing that some *usegLa* had fled in the forest, the uncle further advised her to search for her relatives.

It happened as the uncle said, and the girl told all about it later.

Vengeance for the Cabécares

(*Cabécar*)

During the same war, the Terribís climbed trees to look for the Cabécares and Bribri. They would spot a *palenque* (house) and then sleep near it so as to make a surprise raid and kill everyone in the early morning. One day the Terribís went to the upper Estrella River without seeing a soul as all the people along the way had fled. Twenty-five Terribís paused on a hilltop and spotted a large *palenque*. They surrounded the dwelling and some guarded the roads to see where the people were.

Time passed. They heard the cocks crow but they didn't see a single person. This made them think that all the people were within the house. *Palenques* only have one door, so the whole twenty-five entered along with a large wasp which killed them all.

Thus it happened that when another Terribí, who had stayed behind to gather rope for hanging the heads the band expected to collect, tried to find his companions he failed. The truth was that there had never been a *palenque* at that spot on the upper Estrella, nor were there roads. It was part of a scheme of *sibu* against the Terribís. It was he who had sent the wasp to avenge the Cabécares.

The War of the Changuinas [152] with the Talamancas

(*Cabécar*)

The war between the Changuinas and the Cabécares was fought for such a long time that

[648] Changuina River, a tributary of the Diquís or Río Grande de Térraba. Here they had a tremendous battle with the Borucas and Cabécares of Ujarrás as the graveyards in the vicinity testify. *See* Stone, 1958, p. 45, fig. 1. Today, legend holds that the Changuinas are still at the upper reaches of this tributary, but that they disappear when one arrives.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

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173 726 the medicine men of Ujarrás went to Talamanca to look for the best medicine man there.[183] He was known by the name of "He who taught medicine men." The medicine man converted himself into a combination of a jaguar-rat. The warriors, who accompanied him, brought arrows and joined those of Ujarrás. The great medicine man who appeared as a rat had his companions from Talamanca carry him in a cage over the cordillera. The people from Ujarrás met him and all went well armed, including females.

They met the Changuinas who had joined with the inhabitants of Cabagra (Bribri) on the other side of Buenos Aires[184] and had a terrific battle. The medicine man from Cabécar was more powerful than the one from Changuina, however, and the Cabécares kept winning.

[712] The wounded Changuinas and Cabagras (Bribri) went into a large underground house made of cut stone which served as a fort. The enemy followed them and made them march ahead while another encounter with the Changuinas and Cabagras was prepared.

The medicine man from Talamanca went ahead of everyone and his enemies allowed him to sit down. He sat on a wooden bench which immediately broke, so he sat on a stone one which did the same. The medicine man of the Changuinas seeing this grew afraid. He withdrew into the underground fortress. There was a saw which the Changuinas and Cabagras used to cut off heads of the people from Talamanca and Ujarrás. Then they gathered the blood and drank it calling it cacao. The medicine man of the Changuinas wanted to cut off his Talamancan colleague's head but he was not powerful enough.

It was then that the warriors from Talamanca and Ujarrás moved in. Seeing their medicine man seated on sticks and stones instead of a gold seat, such as the Changuinas had, they proceeded with such fury that the enemy became frightened. The Changuina's medicine man grabbed a gold seat in the shape of a horse and through magical means made it fly with him through a door which was in the center of the large building.

[183] Cabécar, in Talamanca, is still the "seat of learning" for medicine men. (*See* Medicine Man.)

[184] I.e., south of Buenos Aires, above where the

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173 The Talamancan medicine man also used
• 726 his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuina, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[188] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured.
[103] The place they chose is known today as the *Tapón de Platanares* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

Historic Events.

The History of San José Cabécar

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper
776 Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress
[103] and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited
[614] by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried
173 *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he
776 wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called
[103] *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[188] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.